

LETTER OF THE  
CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF  
THE COMMUNIST PARTY  
OF THE SOVIET UNION  
TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE  
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY  
OF CHINA

*MARCH 30th, 1963*

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DEAR Comrades, the central committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union notes with satisfaction that our proposals on measures aimed at strengthening the unity and solidarity of the ranks of the communist movement have met with favourable response on the part of the central committee of the Communist Party of China. We welcome your agreement to the holding of a meeting between representatives of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China. This meeting is called upon to play an important part in creating a favourable atmosphere in relations between the fraternal parties and in smoothing out the differences which have arisen in recent times in the world communist movement. We would like to hope that as a result of this meeting it will be possible to carry out a number of constructive measures to surmount existing difficulties.

In its letter, the central committee of the Communist Party of China invites Comrade N. S. Khrushchov to visit Peking en route to Cambodia. The central committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Comrade N. S. Khrushchov express gratitude for this invitation. Comrade N. S. Khrushchov would with great pleasure visit the People's Republic of China, and meet the leadership of the Communist Party of China to exchange views on urgent questions of the international situation and the communist movement with the object of achieving common understanding of our tasks and strengthening solidarity between our parties. However, Comrade N. S. Khrushchov's Cambodian tour, which you mention in your letter, is not planned. The fact is that, in conformity with a decision passed by our leading bodies on February 12, 1963, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, President of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet, will travel to Cambodia. The Cambodian Government has already been notified of this and it has been announced in the press. Comrade N. S. Khrushchov, who has already visited the People's Republic of China three times, still hopes to avail himself of your kind invitation in the future to visit China and meet the Chinese comrades.

We remember that during his stay in Moscow in 1957 Comrade Mao Tse-tung said that he had been in the U.S.S.R. only twice and had visited only Moscow and Leningrad. He expressed the desire to visit the Soviet Union again to become better acquainted with our country. He said then that he would like to travel from the Far

Eastern borders of our country to the western, and from the northern to the southern borders. We welcomed this desire of Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

The C.P.S.U. central committee sent a letter to Comrade Mao Tse-tung on May 12, 1960, inviting him to come and spend a holiday in the U.S.S.R. and familiarise himself with the life of the Soviet people. Unfortunately, Comrade Mao Tse-tung at that time could not avail himself of our invitation. The C.P.S.U. central committee would welcome a visit by Mao Tse-tung. The best time for such a visit would be the approaching spring or summer, which are good seasons of the year in our country. We are also ready at any other time to give a worthy reception to Comrade Mao Tse-tung as a representative of a fraternal Party and of the fraternal Chinese people. In this tour of our country Comrade Mao Tse-tung, of course, would not be alone. Comrades from the leadership of our Party would travel with him, and there would be a fine opportunity for an exchange of opinion on different questions. Comrade Mao Tse-tung would be able to see how the Soviet people are working, and what successes they have scored in the construction of communism and in the implementation of the programme of our party.

If a visit by Comrade Mao Tse-tung to Moscow cannot take place at present, we are ready to hear your considerations on a top-level meeting between representatives of the C.P.S.U. and the Communist Party of China in Moscow. We believe that a meeting of this kind could take place around May 15, 1963, if this date is acceptable to you.

We are very pleased that the Chinese comrades, like ourselves, regard the forthcoming meeting of representatives of the C.P.C. and the C.P.S.U. as a "necessary step in preparing for the meeting of representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries." Indeed, without violating the principle of equality and without infringing upon the interests of other fraternal parties, this meeting must facilitate better preparation for and convening of the meeting. Without such a meeting, as well as without putting an end to open polemics in the press, and to the criticism within one's own party of other fraternal parties, preparation for the meeting and achievement of the main aim – the strengthening of the unity of the international communist movement – would be made difficult. Precisely for this reason the central committee of the C.P.S.U., while agreeing with the proposals made by the Viet Nameese, Indonesian, British, Swedish and other comrades at the beginning of 1962 regarding the convocation of a meeting of fraternal Parties of all countries, at the same time stressed the need for taking such measures as would create a favourable atmosphere for the work of the world communist forum.

In its letter of February 22, 1962, the central committee of the C.P.S.U. urged that "unnecessary arguments be stopped regarding questions on which we have different opinions, that public statements capable of aggravating and not smoothing out our differences be

given up." In the letter to the central committee of the C.P.C. of May 31, 1962, we wrote: "As you are well aware our Party has always come out and comes out today as well, for collective discussion of vital problems of the world communist movement. The central committee of the C.P.S.U. was the sponsor of the meetings of fraternal parties in 1957 and 1960. In both cases these meetings were connected with serious changes in the international situation and the need for working out corresponding tactics of the Communist movement. On this occasion too, we fully support the proposal on the convening of a meeting of all the fraternal parties".

We considered it useful that in preparation for such a meeting the fraternal parties would be able to thoroughly and profoundly analyse the new phenomena in international affairs, their activity in carrying out the collective decisions of our movement. The central committee of the C.P.S.U. displayed concern, perfectly understandable to all communists, that the meeting should not aggravate the differences but do its utmost to overcome them.

In their pronouncements many of the leaders of fraternal parties have recently been justly expressing the same point of view on the necessity to take a number of steps before the meeting to create a normal situation in the communist movement and to place conflicts of opinions within the permissible bounds of a comradely party discussion. Now you also agree with this, as is seen from your letter, and it can be said that certain progress has been made in the preparation of the forthcoming meeting.

It goes without saying that when our two parties are discussing questions concerning all fraternal parties, such discussion can only be of a preliminary nature. The 1957 and 1960 meetings have shown that the elaboration of the policy of the international communist movement can be successful only if all fraternal parties collectively take part in it and if due consideration is taken of the extensive experience of all its component parts.

We have attentively studied your considerations concerning the range of questions which could be discussed at the meeting of representatives of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China. These are important questions, and we are ready to discuss them.

In our turn, we would like to dwell in this letter on some questions of principle, which, in our opinion, are in the centre of attention of the fraternal parties and their struggle for our common cause. We do not mean, of course, an exhaustive statement of our views on these questions. We only wish to note that which is of paramount importance and by which we are guided in our policy in the international arena and in our relations with fraternal parties.

We hope that such a statement of our views will help to define the range of questions requiring an exchange of opinions at a bilateral meeting and will contribute to overcoming the existing differences. We are doing this so as to stress once again our determination firmly and consistently to uphold the ideological platform of the



entire world communist movement and its general line which has found its expression in the Declaration and the Statement.

During the time that has passed since the adoption of the Statement, life has not only not impaired any of its main conclusions, but, on the contrary, has fully confirmed the correctness of the course taken by the world communist movement worked out jointly through generalisation of the present day experience and creative development of Marxism-Leninism.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union proceeds from the fact that our epoch, whose main content is the transition from capitalism to socialism started by the Great October Socialist Revolution, is an epoch of struggle of two opposed social systems, an epoch of socialist revolutions and national-liberation revolutions, an epoch of the collapse of imperialism, of abolition of the colonial system, an epoch of transition to socialism of ever more nations and the triumph of socialism and communism on a world scale.

The situation which developed in the world, the changes in the deployment of class forces in the international arena, which opened new opportunities for our movement, demanded that a general line be worked out for the world communist movement, a general line conforming to its basic tasks at the present stage.

After the Second World War a number of countries of Europe took the road of socialism, a socialist revolution triumphed in China and other Asian countries, and a world socialist system was formed. The new system grew strong in the countries of People's Democracy and was able to ensure a rapid rate of the economic, political and cultural development of the countries following the road of socialism. The socialist community was closely rallied politically and militarily. Thanks to the achievements of the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries the correlation of forces in the world changed substantially in favour of socialism, and to the detriment of imperialism. An important part in this respect was played by the elimination of America's monopoly of atomic and hydrogen weapons and by the creation of a mighty war potential by the Soviet Union.

The formation of the world socialist system is a historical achievement of the international working class and of all the working people. This achievement really embodies mankind's dreams of a new society. The growth of production and the vast achievements of science and engineering in the socialist countries have helped to provide the socialist community with economic and defensive might that reliably defends the gains of socialism and also serves as a mighty mainstay of the peace and security of the peoples of the world.

The radical change in the correlation of forces is also connected with a further aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism, the aggravation of all its contradictions. After the end of the Second World War a change occurred in the distribution of forces inside the imperialist camp. After the economic centre, the political and military centres of imperialism also moved from Europe to the United States of America. The monopolist bourgeoisie of the U.S.A. has

become the main citadel of international reaction, and has assumed the role of the saviour of capitalism. The American imperialists are now carrying out the functions of an international gendarme. Using the policy of military blocs, the American imperialists endeavour to subordinate other capitalist states to their rule. This evokes opposition to the United States on the part of France, Western Germany, Japan and other big capitalist states. The recovery of the economy of the capitalist countries which had suffered in the world war, and their rate of development which is more rapid than that of the United States, intensify the desire of a number of European countries to get free of American dictation. All this leads to the aggravation of the existing and to the appearance of new centres of imperialist rivalry and conflicts, and weakens the capitalist system as a whole.

The anti-popular and rapacious nature of imperialism has not changed, but with the formation of the world socialist system and the growth of its economic and military might, the possibilities for imperialism to influence the course of historic development have been noticeably narrowed, while the forms and methods of its struggle against the socialist countries and the world revolutionary and national liberation movements have been changed. The imperialists are frightened by the tempestuous growth of the forces of socialism and the national liberation movement; the imperialists are uniting their forces, making frantic efforts to continue the struggle for their aims of exploitation and striving everywhere to undermine the positions of the socialist countries and the national liberation movement and to weaken their influence.

It is perfectly obvious that in our age the main content and chief direction of the historic development of human society is no longer determined by imperialism but by the world socialist system, by all the progressive forces struggling against imperialism for the re-organisation of society along socialist lines. The contradiction between capitalism and socialism is the chief contradiction of our epoch. On the outcome of the struggle of the two world systems the destinies of peace, democracy and socialism depend to a decisive extent. And the correlation of forces on the world arena is constantly changing in favour of socialism.

The struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America for their national and social liberation and the successes already achieved in this field, the growing struggle of the working class, of all the working people of the capitalist countries against monopolies, against any exploitation and for social progress, are of the greatest importance for the destinies of mankind's historical development. Socialist revolutions, anti-imperialist revolutions of national liberation, anti-colonial revolutions, people's democratic revolutions, extensive peasant movements, the struggle of the masses of the people for the overthrow of fascist and other tyrannical regimes, democratic movements against national oppression – in our epoch all these merge into a single world revolutionary stream which is undermining and destroying capitalism.

Also, in working out its policy in conformity with the new conditions, the world socialist movement could not but take seriously into account such an important factor as the radical qualitative change of the military-technical means of waging a war resulting from the emergence and stock-piling of thermonuclear weapons which possess unprecedented destructive force. Until disarmament is effected the socialist community must always maintain superiority over the imperialists in the field of armed forces. We shall never allow the imperialists to forget that should they unleash a war with a view to deciding by force of arms whether mankind must develop along the road of capitalism or socialism, it will be the last war, the one in the course of which imperialism will be finally routed.

Under present day conditions it is the duty of all champions of peace and socialism to use to the utmost the favourable opportunities for the victory of socialism, not allowing imperialism to unleash a world war.

The correct analysis of the alignment of class forces in the world arena and the correct Marxist-Leninist policy elaborated at the Moscow meetings made it possible for the fraternal parties to attain important successes in developing the world socialist system and have facilitated the development of the revolutionary class struggle in the capitalist countries and the national liberation movement.

The socialist system is exerting an ever growing influence on the course of world development. The entire world revolutionary process is today developing under the direct influence of the great force of example of the new life in the countries of socialism. The greater and more significant are our achievements in the building of socialism and communism, the more successfully the ideas of communism make their way to the minds and hearts of the popular masses. It is, therefore, understandable that he who wants to bring closer the victory of socialism throughout the entire world should, in the first place, show concern for strengthening the great socialist community, its economic strength, raise the standard of living of his peoples, develop science, engineering and culture, achieve the consolidation of its unity and solidarity and enhancement of its international authority. The Statement of the Moscow meeting places the responsibility on the Marxist-Leninist parties and the peoples of the socialist countries to the international working-class movement for the successful building of socialism and communism.

Tirelessly strengthening the world socialist system, the fraternal parties and peoples of our countries make their contribution to the great cause of the struggle of the international working-class, of all the working people, of the entire liberation movement, in solving the basic problems of the day in the interests of peace, democracy and socialism.

The present correlation of forces in the world arena gave the socialist countries, together with all the peace-loving forces, the opportunity of putting forward for the first time in history, as an entirely feasible task, the averting of a new world war, of ensuring peace and security of the peoples.



The years that have passed since the adoption of this Statement have fully corroborated the correctness of this thesis. The failure of the aggressive forces to push mankind into the abyss of a destructive thermonuclear war is a highly important result of the strengthening of the might of the socialist countries, of the peace-loving foreign policy which they unswervingly pursue and which is increasingly winning recognition and support among hundreds of millions of people and gaining the upper hand over the imperialist policy of aggression and war.

No Marxist doubts that imperialism, while losing one position after another, is trying by all means to preserve its domination over peoples and to regain its lost positions. An international conspiracy of the imperialists, the biggest ever in history, against the socialist countries and the world movement of liberation is taking place at present. Of course, there is no guarantee that the imperialists will not try to unleash a world war. The communists should clearly see this danger.

But the position of the aggressor under present day conditions radically differs from the one he was in before the Second World War, and even more so before the First World War. In the past, wars usually ended in some capitalist countries defeating others, but the vanquished continued to live, regained their strength after some time and even proved able to start aggression again. This is shown, in particular, by the example of Germany. A thermonuclear war does not offer such a prospect to any aggressor, and the imperialists cannot but reckon with this. Fear of a retaliatory blow, of retribution, keeps them from letting loose a world war. The socialist community of nations has become so strong that imperialism can no longer impose its conditions on the peoples and dictate its will as before. This is a historic gain of the international working class and the peoples of all countries.

By virtue of its predatory nature imperialism cannot get rid of the desire to solve contradictions in the international arena by war. But, on the other hand, it cannot unleash a world thermonuclear war without realising that it will thereby place itself in danger of being destroyed.

A world war with which imperialism threatens mankind is not fatally inevitable. With the balance of forces increasingly tipping in favour of socialism and against imperialism, and with the forces of peace increasingly gaining preponderance over the forces of war, it will become really possible to rule out a world war from the life of society even before socialism completely triumphs on earth, with capitalism still existing in a part of the world.

Of course, to prevent this war it is necessary to continue strengthening the socialist system to the utmost and to rally all forces of the international working class and the national liberation movement, to rally all democratic forces. Those who prize the interests of socialism and the interests of peace must do everything necessary so as to frustrate the criminal designs of world reaction and not to allow it to unleash a thermonuclear war and drag hundreds of millions of

people down into the grave with it. A sober appraisal of the inevitable consequences that a thermonuclear war would have for the whole of mankind, for the cause of socialism, imperatively sets before the Marxists-Leninists the task of doing everything in our power to prevent a new world conflict.

The C.P.S.U. central committee firmly abides by the thesis of the 1960 Statement that: "In a world divided into two systems, the only correct and reasonable principle of international relations is the principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems advanced by V. I. Lenin and further elaborated in the Moscow Declaration and Peace Manifesto of 1957, in the decisions of the Twentieth and Twenty-First Congresses of the C.P.S.U., and in the documents of other Communist and Workers' Parties."

Our party which the great Lenin reared in the spirit of relentless struggle against imperialism, keeps in mind Lenin's warning to the effect that dying capitalism is still able to cause humanity untold calamities. The Soviet Union is doing everything to strengthen its economy and improve its defences on this basis; it is building up its armed might and maintaining its armed forces in a state of constant readiness. However, we have employed and will continue to employ our country's increasing might not to threaten anyone or fan war passions, but to consolidate peace, prevent another world war, and defend our own country and the other socialist countries.

The policy of peaceful coexistence accords with the vital interests of all peoples; it serves to strengthen the position of socialism, to extend the international influence of the socialist countries, and enhance the authority and influence of the communists.

Peaceful coexistence does not imply conciliation between socialist and bourgeois ideologies. That policy would spell abandonment of Marxism-Leninism and obstruction of the building of socialism. Bourgeois ideology is a sort of Trojan horse, which imperialism is trying to sneak into the ranks of the communist and working class movement. The peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems presupposes an unremitting ideological, political and economic struggle between the two social systems, the class struggle of the working people inside the countries of the capitalist system — including armed struggle when the peoples find that necessary — and the steady advance of the national-liberation movement of the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries.

The facts go to show that the struggle to prevent a world war in no way fetters the forces of the world communist and national liberation movements but on the contrary rallies the broadest masses to the communists. It was precisely in conditions of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems that the socialist revolution triumphed in Cuba, that the Algerian people gained national independence, that more than 40 countries won national independence, that the fraternal parties grew in number and strength, that the influence of the world communist movement increased.

Availing themselves of the conditions of peaceful coexistence the

socialist countries are scoring more and more new victories in the economic competition with capitalism. Our adversaries realise that it is difficult for them to count on winning the competition against us. They are unable to keep up with the rapid economic advance of the socialist countries; they are powerless in the face of the appeal that the example of the socialist countries makes to the peoples under the yoke of capitalism.

As the economy of the socialist camp advances, the advantages and superiority of socialism, and the possibility of the working people obtaining more material and cultural values, as compared to capitalism will display themselves more and more vividly. The rising living standards in the socialist countries are a great magnet for the working class of all the capitalist countries. The achievements of the socialist commonwealth will constitute a kind of catalyst, a revolutionising factor in expanding the class struggle in the capitalist countries and enabling the working class to win out over capitalism.

The peoples embarking on socialism inherit from the past economies and cultures of different levels. Regardless of this, however, socialism awakens mighty productive forces – as exemplified by the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies. The Soviet Union has already outpaced the leading capitalist countries of Europe in economic development and has come to take second place in the world. The time is not so distant when it will take first place in the world. The other socialist countries have likewise gained great successes. The socialist system is so progressive by nature that it enables the peoples swiftly to eliminate their backwardness, catch up with the more well-developed countries and, marching alongside them, build communism.

All this inspires the peoples, instilling the conviction that they may embark upon the road to socialism and score achievements along this road, regardless of their present level of historical development. The advance of the peoples to a new life is facilitated by the opportunity they have to select the better part of the world experience of building socialism, taking into account both the positive and the negative in the practices of socialist construction.

The faster the productive forces of the socialist countries develop the higher their economic potential will rise and the stronger will become the influence of the socialist community on the rate and trend of the whole historical development in the interests of peace and the complete triumph of socialism.

Our party proceeds from the fact that there are favourable international and internal conditions in the present epoch for the transition of more and more countries to socialism. This is true both with regard to the developed capitalist countries as well as to the countries which recently achieved national independence.

The world revolutionary process is developing on an ever greater scale, embracing all continents. The struggle of the working class in the developed capitalist countries, and the national liberation movement are closely interlinked and help one another. The course of social development has led to the fact that the revolutionary

struggle, no matter in which country it takes place, is directed against the main common enemy, imperialism, and the monopoly bourgeoisie.

The Marxist-Leninist parties throughout the world have a common, ultimate aim, to mobilise all forces in the struggle for winning power by the workers and the labouring peasantry for the building of socialism and communism. In drawing up the tactical line of their struggle, every Communist Party cannot but take into account the experience of the entire world communist movement, cannot but take into consideration those interests, aims and tasks which our movement sets as a whole – its general line at the present time.

But at the same time the working out of forms and methods of struggle for socialism in each separate country is the internal affair of the working class of that country and its communist vanguard. No other fraternal party, irrespective of its membership, experience and authority, can determine the tactics, forms and methods of the revolutionary struggle in other countries. Revolution is the cause of the broad masses themselves. An exact analysis of the concrete situation, a correct estimation of the correlation of forces, is one of the most important conditions of a revolution. The enthusiasm of the revolutionary masses in the struggle for the victory of a socialist revolution cannot be kept back when objective and subjective conditions are ripe. It would be tantamount to death. But a revolution cannot be jogged artificially if conditions for it are not yet ripe. An unripe uprising, as the experience of the class revolutionary struggle teaches, is doomed to failure. Communists rally the working people under the red banner in order to win in the struggle for a better life on earth, and not to perish, even though heroically. Heroism and self-sacrifice, necessary in revolutionary battles, are not needed by themselves, but in the name of the victory of the great ideas of socialism.

The C.P.S.U. has always hailed and will continue to hail the revolutionary working class, the working people of any country who, headed by their communist vanguard, are making skilful use of the revolutionary situation for inflicting a crushing blow against the class enemy and establishing a new social system.

The tactics and policy of the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries have common features which are connected with the present stage of the general crisis of capitalism and the correlation of forces which has developed in the international arena. The development of state monopoly capitalism has, besides aggravating the contradictions of the capitalist society which appeared before, also given rise to new contradictions. State monopoly capitalism has led to a still greater narrowing of the social base of imperialism inside the country, and to the concentration of power in the hands of a small group of the strongest monopolists. This gives rise at the other pole to a joint anti-monopolist flood including the working class, the peasants, the petty bourgeoisie, the working intellectuals and certain other sections of capitalist society interested in freeing



themselves from the sway of the monopolies and exploitation, and interested in changing over to socialism.

Our time is characterised by a sharp growth of the significance of the democratic movements – of the struggle for world peace, for the prevention of a world thermonuclear catastrophe, for the preservation of national sovereignty, movements in defence of democracy, against the onslaught of fascism, for the introduction of agrarian changes, of a humanistic movement in defence of culture and other such movements.

Our party fully adheres to Leninist principles, to the principles expressed in the Statement that socialist revolution is not necessarily connected with war. If world wars are fraught with triumphant revolutions, revolutions are quite possible without wars.

Had Communists started tying up the victory of the socialist revolution with world war, this would not in the least evoke sympathies for socialism, but would make the masses stand aloof from it. With modern means of warfare which have terrible destructive consequences, such an appeal would only play into the hands of our enemies.

The working class and its vanguard, the Marxist-Leninist Parties, endeavour to carry out socialist revolutions in a peaceful way without civil war. The realisation of such an opportunity would conform to the interests of the working class and all the people, and to the national interests of the country. At the same time the choice of the ways of development of the revolution depends not only on the working class. If the exploiting classes resort to violence against the people, the working class will be forced to use the non-peaceful way for seizing power. Everything depends on the concrete conditions and on the distribution of class forces inside the country and in the world arena.

Naturally, no matter what form is used for the transition from capitalism to socialism, such a transition is possible only by means of a socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat in various forms. Appreciating highly the selfless struggle of the working class headed by the communists in the capitalist countries, the C.P.S.U. considered it its duty to render them all kinds of aid and support.

Our Party regards the national liberation movement as an integral part of the world revolutionary process, as a mighty force destroying the front of imperialism. The peoples of the former colonies are today rising to full stature as independent creators of history and are seeking ways to promote their national economy and culture. The growth of the forces of the socialist system actively helps the liberation of the oppressed peoples, the achievement by them of economic independence, further development and expansion of the national liberation movement, and the people's struggle against all forms of both old and new colonialism.

The national liberation movement has entered the final stage of the abolition of colonial régimes. The time is not far off when all the peoples living as yet under the yoke of the colonialists will acquire



freedom and independence. The freed peoples are now faced with the problem of consolidating political independence, overcoming economic and cultural backwardness and putting an end to all forms of dependence upon imperialism.

The countries which have thrown off the colonial yoke are successfully carrying out the vital tasks of national resurgence only on condition that a vigorous struggle is waged against imperialism and the remnants of feudalism, by uniting in a single national front all the patriotic forces of the nations – the working class, peasantry, national bourgeoisie and democratic intellectuals.

The peoples who are fighting for their national liberation and have already won political independence have ceased, or are ceasing, to serve as a reserve of imperialism. With the support of the socialist states and all the progressive forces they are more and more frequently inflicting defeats upon the imperialist powers and coalitions.

The young national states are developing in conditions of competition between the two world social systems. This circumstance has the strongest influence upon their political and economic development, upon the choice of roads they will follow in the future. The states that have recently achieved their national liberation belong neither to the system of socialist states nor to the system of capitalist states, but the overwhelming majority of them have not yet broken away from the orbit of the world capitalist economy though they occupy a special position there. This part of the world is still exploited by the capitalist monopolies.

Now when political independence has been won, there comes to the forefront the struggle of the young sovereign states against imperialism for final national revival and economic independence. The achievement of complete independence by the developing countries would mean a new serious weakening of imperialism, for in that case the entire present system of the predatory, unequal international division of labour would be destroyed, the foundation of economic exploitation of the “world village” by the capitalist monopolies would be undermined. The development of independent national economies in the developing countries, relying upon the effective assistance of the socialist system, will deal a new heavy blow against imperialism.

In the struggle for the attainment and consolidation of independence it is necessary to muster in every way all a nation's forces ready to fight against imperialism. In an endeavour to strengthen its dominating position after the attainment of independence, the right-wing national bourgeoisie can establish for some period of time reactionary political régimes and start persecuting communists and other democrats. However, such régimes are shortlived for the simple reason that they obstruct progress and the solution of vital national problems – primarily the attainment of economic independence and the development of productive forces. That is why, in spite of active support on the part of the imperialists, these régimes will be overthrown as a result of the struggle of the masses.

The C.P.S.U. regards the fraternal alliance with the peoples, who

have shaken off the colonial yoke, and with the peoples of semi-colonies, as one of the cornerstones of its international policy. Our Party considers it to be its internationalist duty to help the peoples who have taken the road of attainment and consolidation of national independence, all the peoples fighting for the complete abolition of the colonial system. The Soviet Union has always supported the sacred war of the peoples for freedom, rendering all kinds of moral, economic, military and political support to the national liberation movement.

The Soviet people rendered great support to the Algerian people when they fought against the French colonialists. When the Yemeni people rose up in revolt against slavery in their country, we were the first to offer them a helping hand. We rendered many-sided aid to the Indonesian people in their struggle for the liberation of West Irian, against the Dutch imperialists who got their support from the U.S. imperialists. We hail the struggle of the Indonesian people for the liberation of Northern Kalimantan.

Colonialists, both old and new, are busy weaving the webs of intrigues and plots against the liberation movement of the peoples of South-East Asia. Our sympathies and support are invariably with those who fight for national freedom and independence. We are deeply convinced that, in spite of all the efforts of the American imperialists and their puppets, the peoples of South Vietnam and South Korea will win victory in their struggle and will achieve the reunification of their native lands.

Coming out against the export of revolution, our Party has always done everything to bar the way to the export of counter-revolution. We are firmly convinced that the interconnection and unity of actions of the three great revolutionary forces of our time – of the peoples building socialism and communism, of the international revolutionary working class movement and of the national liberation movement – are the foundation of the people's struggle against imperialism and a guarantee of their victory.

The entire course of world development in recent years has fully confirmed the correctness of the policy of the communist movement which has brought remarkable results in practice. Thanks to the realisation of this policy, the forces fighting against imperialism and for peace, national independence and socialism have scored new successes. The C.P.S.U. considers it to be its duty to consistently and steadfastly carry out this policy.

We are firmly convinced that there are no grounds for a revision of this policy.

Along with this the C.P.S.U. Central Committee is of the opinion that it would be beneficial during the preparations for the meeting, as well as at the meeting of Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties, to exchange opinions as to the new aspects with which life has in recent years enriched the policy of the world communist movement as put down in the Declaration and Statement.

In your letter, dear comrades, you justly note that the guarantee of all our achievements is the strengthening of the unity of the

communist movement and the solidarity of the socialist countries. In the recent period the C.P.S.U. at its congresses and at international communist meetings has time and again expressed its conception of the principles concerning the relations between Marxist-Leninist Parties. We emphasised for the whole world to see that in the communist movement, just as in the socialist community, the complete equality of all Communist and Workers' Parties, of all socialist countries existed and continues to exist. In the communist movement there are no "higher ranking" and "subordinated" parties. And it cannot be otherwise. The domination of any party or the manifestation of any hegemony whatsoever, does no good to the international communist and workers' movement; on the contrary, it can only do it harm. All Communist Parties are independent and equal. All bear responsibility for the destiny of the communist movement, for its victories and setbacks, all must build their relations on the basis of proletarian internationalism and mutual assistance.

We also proceed from the consideration that proletarian internationalism places equal demands on all parties, big and small, but makes no exceptions for anyone. All fraternal parties must be equally concerned to ensure that their activities are based on Marxist-Leninist principles, in accord with the interests of strengthening the unity of the socialist countries and of the entire world communist and working-class movement.

The formation and development of the world socialist system lend special significance to the question of correct relations between Marxist-Leninist parties. Communist and Workers' Parties in the countries of socialism are ruling parties. They bear responsibility for the destiny of the states, for the destiny of their peoples. Under these conditions the violation of Marxist-Leninist principles in the relations between parties can affect not only party interests but the interests of the wide masses of the people.

Guiding itself by the supreme interests of our cause, the C.P.S.U. has eliminated the consequences of the Stalin personality cult and did everything fully to restore the Leninist principles of equality in relations between the fraternal parties and respect for the sovereignty of socialist countries. This has played a great positive role in strengthening the unity of the entire socialist community. A favourable situation has been created for our friendship to grow stronger on the basis of equality, respect for the sovereignty of each state, mutual assistance and comradely co-operation, voluntary fulfilment of its international duty by each country. At the same time, we should like to emphasise that socialist equality means not only having equal rights to take part in collectively working out the common line, but also means equal responsibilities of the fraternal parties of socialist countries for the destinies of the community as a whole.

The Statement of the Moscow meeting of the fraternal parties stressed the need for the closest alliance between countries breaking away from capitalism, for joining their efforts in the building of socialism and communism. The interests of the entire socialist system as a whole and the national interests combine harmoniously.

Life proves convincingly that every country can best solve its national tasks only by most closely co-operating with the other socialist countries on the basis of genuine equality and mutual aid.

Our unity, our well-concerted actions do not arise spontaneously. They are dictated by objective necessity, they are the result of conscious activities, of the purposeful internationalist policy of the Marxist-Leninist parties and their tireless concern for the rallying of our ranks.

We do not shut our eyes to the fact that different interpretation of certain questions of internal construction and the international communist movement, different interpretation of the forms and methods of our co-operation, can occur in relations between socialist countries. This is possible, for the countries making up the world socialist system are living through different stages in the construction of a new society, and their experience in developing relations with the outside world is not the same in all respects. One should not exclude the possibility either that differences may result from a different approach to the solution of some problems of Marxism-Leninism by certain fraternal parties. To exaggerate the role of national, specific features may lead to a departure from Marxism-Leninism. To ignore national features may lead to breaking away from life, and from the masses, and do harm to the cause of socialism.

All this necessitates constant concern for devising ways and means which would enable us to settle the differences that arise from positions of principle, with the least damage done to our common cause.

We, Communists, can argue between ourselves. But in all circumstances our sacred duty remains the education of the peoples of our countries in the spirit of profound solidarity with all the peoples of the socialist community. Communists must inculcate in the peoples love not only for their own country, but for the whole of the socialist community, for all peoples, to foster in each man and woman living in any socialist country an understanding of their fraternal duty towards the working people of the world. Failure to do this means not to follow the first rule of communists requiring us to unite the Marxist-Leninist parties and the peoples building socialism and to cherish our unity as the apple of our eye.

Ideological and tactical differences must in no circumstances be used as a source for inciting nationalist feelings and prejudices, for mistrust and dissension between the socialist peoples.

We declare with full responsibility that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has never taken and will never take a single step that could sow hostility among the peoples of our country towards the fraternal Chinese people or other peoples. On the contrary, in all circumstances our Party has steadily and consistently been propagating the ideas of internationalism and warm friendship with the peoples of the socialist countries and all peoples of the world. We consider it important to stress this and hope that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China shares this view.



In the international communist, working-class and liberation movement it is necessary to unite common efforts, mobilising the peoples for struggle against imperialism. The militant call – “Workers of all countries, unite!” – put forward by Marx and Engels means that at the basis of such unity lies anti-imperialist class solidarity and not nationality, the colour of the skin or geographical location. The uniting of the masses for struggle against imperialism only on the basis of their belonging to one or another continent – whether Africa, Asia, Latin American or Europe – can be detrimental to the fighting peoples. This would be not uniting, but, as a matter of fact, splitting the forces of the single anti-imperialist front.

The strength of the world communist movement lies in its faithfulness to Marxism-Leninism and to proletarian internationalism. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has fought and will continue to fight against apostasy from Marxism-Leninism and against any opportunism. We firmly adhere to the principles of the Statement of 1960 indicating the necessity of struggle on two fronts – against right and left opportunism. The Statement rightly says that the main danger in the world communist movement is revisionism and at the same time points to the necessity of a resolute struggle against sectarianism and dogmatism, which can become the principal danger at one or another stage of development of separate parties if they are not consistently combated.

Motivated by interests of consolidating the unity of the world communist movement on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, our Party will continue to resolutely fight both right-wing opportunism and left-wing opportunism, which today is as every bit as dangerous as revisionism. But while being implacable as regards fundamental questions of principle in the theory and tactics of the communist movement, while struggling against revisionism and sectarianism, we shall spare no effort to elucidate, by painstaking comradely discussion, the questions that are interpreted differently, so as to clear away all extraneous matter interfering with the closing of our ranks. In so doing, we proceed from the premise that when criticising one or another mistake on fundamental problems of Marxism-Leninism, the fraternal parties, just as international conferences of the communist movement, set themselves the objective of pointing out the danger of such mistakes and of helping to remedy them, but by no means set themselves the aim of perpetuating these mistakes.

We are striving to facilitate the full consolidation of revolutionary forces, not their disunion, not the amputation of one or another detachment in our movement. Of course, the Communists cannot allow concessions on points of principle in Marxist-Leninist theory.

As an internationalist party, the C.P.S.U. carefully studies the experience accumulated in their struggle by the Marxist-Leninist parties in all the countries of the world. We greatly prize the struggle being waged by the working class and its revolutionary vanguard of Communist Parties in France, Italy, the U.S.A., Britain and the other capitalist countries, as well as the heroic struggle which the



Communist Parties of the Afro-Asian and Latin-American countries are carrying on for national and social emancipation against the domination of imperialist monopolies, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

The Communist Parties have grown into influential national factors, into advanced detachments of fighters for the happiness of their peoples. No wonder the reactionaries are striking blow after blow at the communists in the effort to bring them to their knees. In their drive against the communist movement the reactionaries roll out the shop-soiled lie about the "hand of Moscow", claiming that the Communist Parties are not a national factor but a vehicle for the policy of another country, the tool of another country. The imperialists are doing this with evil intent, in order to counter the mounting influence of the Communist Parties, in order to make the masses suspect them and to whitewash police persecution of the communists.

However, all honest-thinking men and women know that it is precisely the Communist Parties who are the true adherents and champions of national interests, that they are staunch patriots who combine love for their country and proletarian internationalism in their struggle for the happiness of the people. The C.P.S.U. considers it to be its obligation to give every support to its comrades in the heroic struggle they are waging in the capitalist countries and to strengthen international solidarity with them.

Such, in general outline, are some of our considerations on important, principled questions of modern times, strategy and tactics of the international communist movement, which we believed necessary to touch upon in this letter.

While being firmly convinced that the present policy of the international communist movement, which found its expression in the Declaration and Statement of the fraternal parties, is the only correct one, we believe that at the forthcoming meeting between the representatives of the C.P.S.U. and C.P.C. it would be desirable to discuss the following, most urgent problems:

(a) Questions concerning the struggle for the further strengthening of the might of the world socialist system and its conversion into the decisive factor of the development of human society, which is the main distinguishing feature of our era. We could jointly discuss how to secure a victory for the socialist countries faster and better in peaceful economic competition with capitalism;

(b) Questions concerning the struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence. The need to pool the efforts of all peaceloving forces for the struggle to prevent a new thermonuclear world war. The creation and the strengthening of the broadest united front of peace supporters. The exposure of the reactionary essence of imperialism, enhancement of vigilance, and mobilisation of the broad masses to fight against the preparations by the imperialists for a new world war, frustrate the aggressive schemes of the imperialists, and isolate the forces of reaction and war. Assertion in international relations of the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence of states with

different social systems. The struggle for general and complete disarmament and for the elimination of the vestiges of the Second World War;

(c) Questions concerning the struggle against imperialism headed by the United States. The use, in the interest of our cause, of the weakening positions of capitalism and growing instability of the entire capitalist system of world economy, the aggravation of contradictions of capitalism, and, above all, contradictions between labour and capital, and the deep crisis of bourgeois ideology and policies. Support of the class and revolutionary struggle of the working people of the capitalist countries against the monopolies, for their social liberation, for the destruction of exploitation of man by man, for the extension of the democratic rights and freedoms of the peoples;

(d) Questions concerning the national liberation movement. The support and utmost development of the national liberation movement of the peoples. The struggle for the complete and final liquidation of colonialism and neo-colonialism in all its forms. The rendering of support to peoples fighting against colonialism, and also to countries which have achieved their national liberation. The development of economic and cultural co-operation with these countries;

(e) Questions concerning the consolidation of the unity and cohesion of the socialist community and of the ranks of the communist movement. The need for consolidating in every way the international communist movement which is the most influential political force of our times, particularly in conditions when the imperialist reactionaries have joined forces for a struggle against communism.

The prevention of any actions which can undermine this unity, the united adherence by each fraternal party to the assessments and conclusions worked out jointly. The continuation of the struggle against revisionism and dogmatism, as an indispensable condition for the defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism and upholding of its creative development, and of further successes of the communist movement. The development of relations among the fraternal parties on the basis of the principles of proletarian internationalism, mutual aid and support. The elaboration of joint measures for intensifying the ideological and political struggle against imperialism and reaction.

During the talks it would be possible to discuss all the questions mentioned in your letter, questions of common interests which stem from the struggle for the implementation of the decisions of the Moscow meetings. A great role could be played by the discussion of the questions connected with the consolidation of solidarity between the U.S.S.R. and the People's Republic of China.

In your letter you deal among other things with the Albanian and Yugoslav questions. We have already written to you that these questions, though of a basic nature, cannot and should not eclipse the main problems of our times which call for discussion at our meeting.

Our Party, having condemned the splitting activities of the Albanian leaders, has been at the same time taking a number of steps necessary for normalising the relations between the Albanian Party of Labour and the C.P.S.U. and other fraternal parties. In spite of the fact that of late the leaders of the Albanian Party of Labour have been coming out with calumnious attacks against our Party and the Soviet people, we, being guided by supreme interests, do not relinquish the thought that the relations between the C.P.S.U. and the Albanian Party of Labour can be improved. At the end of February this year the C.P.S.U. Central Committee once again took the initiative and suggested to the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour that a bilateral meeting be held of the representatives of our two parties. However, this comradely step of ours also did not meet with due response on the part of the Albanian leadership. The leaders of the Albanian Party of Labour did not even deem it necessary to accept our letter with the C.P.S.U. Central Committee's proposal about the bilateral meeting. Later, having obviously come to their senses, the Albanian leaders sent us a letter in which, after making some reservations and stipulations, they speak of such a meeting. If real desire is actually shown, we are ready to have a meeting.

As far as Yugoslavia is concerned, we maintain, proceeding from an analysis and assessment of the objective economic and political conditions in that country, that it is a socialist country, and in our relations with it we strive to establish closer relations between it and the socialist commonwealth, as being in accord with the policy pursued by the fraternal parties of cementing together all the anti-imperialist forces in the world. We also take into consideration the definite positive tendencies evident of late in Yugoslavia's economic and socio-political life. Meanwhile the C.P.S.U. is aware of the serious differences that there are with the League of Communists of Yugoslavia on several ideological points, and deems it necessary to tell the Yugoslav comrades so outright, criticising those views of theirs which it finds wrong.

In its letter of March 9, 1963, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China agrees with us in saying that today the world communist movement faces a crucial moment. It depends on us, on our parties, on the correctness of our policy, whether we continue to advance together in one rank or allow ourselves to be involved in a struggle harmful to the working class, to our peoples and to all the working folk, a struggle that can result only in mutual estrangement and serve to weaken the forces of socialism and undermine the unity of the world communist movement.

Naturally, as large and strong parties, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China would emerge from this situation with less of a loss; however, as far as the other fraternal Parties, especially those working in complex conditions, are concerned, they will be faced with great and, moreover, unnecessary complications, which, of course, is not our aim.

Everything depends on how we act in this serious and complex

situation.

turn argue ~~there are~~ recommendations, unsubstantiated accusations and sallies against the fraternal parties? Or are we, aware of the great responsibility that we bear for the destinies of our great cause, to direct developments along another channel, and find the courage to rise above all that divides us today, cease the uncomradely polemics, and concentrate on a search for ways and means of consolidating militant Soviet-Chinese co-operation, of consolidating the friendship of all the fraternal parties.

We realise that any movement, including the communist movement, is unthinkable without controversy. However, no differences, no displeasure at the behaviour of one or another Party, can justify methods of struggle detrimental to the interests of the international communist movement.

The deeper and broader our undertaking of the aims and tasks of the international working class, the greater the vigour with which we should strive to analyse our differences – however serious they may seem today – quietly and relevantly, and prevent them from interfering with our positive work and from disorganising the revolutionary activities of the international working class.

Let us work together for consistent adherence to the Marxist-Leninist course in the international communist movement, against revisionism and dogmatism, for rallying closer the ranks of the international communist movement, for respect of a collectively chosen line and against any violations or arbitrary interpretation of it.

Our Party does not succumb to the heat of the polemic struggle but, aware of our common responsibility to the world communist movement, wants to stop the dangerous process of sliding down to a new series of discussions. It is obvious for every one that we could have found much to say in the defence of the Leninist policy of the C.P.S.U., in the defence of the common course of the international communist movement in reply to groundless attacks made in articles recently carried by the Chinese press. And if we are not doing it now it is only because we do not want to gladden the foes of the communist movement. We hope that the harm of the aggravating polemics will be realised and the interests of the unity of the socialist system and the international communist movement will be placed above all. Therefore, we offer you a meeting not to aggravate the struggle but to reach a mutual understanding on major problems that have arisen in the international communist movement.

We know that this meeting is being looked forward to by our friends in all the countries of the world, who pin great hopes on it. On us, on our will and reason depends whether results gladdening our friends and disappointing the enemies of communism will be achieved at the meeting. This will be our common contribution to the cause of the struggle for the liberation of all the oppressed, for the victory of peace and socialism on earth, for the triumph of the great revolutionary doctrine of Marxism-Leninism.

With communist greetings,

**The Central Committee of the Communist Party  
of the Soviet Union**

March 30, 1963.

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